

Address of the National Liberty Congress, Held at Indianapolis, in August

THIS liberty congress of anti-imperialists recognizes a great national crisis which menaces the republic upon whose future depends in such large measure the hope of freedom throughout the world. For the first time in our country's history the President has undertaken to subjugate a foreign people and to rule them by despotic power. He has thrown the protection of the American flag over slavery and polygamy in the Sulu Islands. He has arrogated to himself the power to impose upon the inhabitants of the Philippines government without their consent and taxation without representation. He is waging war upon them for asserting the very principles for the maintenance of which our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. He claims for himself and Congress authority Congress can govern any person anywhere outside the Constitutional restraint.

"We believe in the Declaration of Independence. Its truths, not less self-evident to-day than when first announced by our fathers, are of universal application, and cannot be abandoned while government by the people endures.

"We believe in the Constitution of the United States. It gives the President and Congress certain limited powers, and secures to every man within the jurisdiction of our government certain essential rights. We deny that either the President or Congress can govern any person anywhere outside the Constitution.

"We are absolutely opposed to the policy of President McKinley, which proposes to govern millions of men without their consent, which in Porto Rico establishes taxation without representation and government by the arbitrary will of a legislature unfettered by constitutional restraint, and in the Philippines prosecutes a war of conquest and demands unconditional surrender from a people who are of right free and independent.

"The struggle of men for freedom has ever been a struggle for constitutional liberty. There is no liberty if the citizen has no right which the legislature may not invade, if he may be taxed by a legislature in which he is not represented, or if he is not protected by fundamental law against the arbitrary action of executive power. The policy of the President offers the inhab-

itant of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines no hope of independence, no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the Congress which taxes him. This is the government of men by arbitrary power without their consent; this is imperialism.

"There is no room under the free flag of America for subjects. The President and Congress, who derive all their powers from the Constitution, can govern no man without regard to its limitations.

"We believe that the greatest safeguard of liberty is a free press, and we demand that the censorship in the Philippine islands which keeps from the American people the knowledge of what is done in their name be abolished. We are entitled to know the truth, and we insist that the powers which the President holds in trust for us shall be not used to suppress it.

"Because we thus believe, we oppose the re-election of Mr. McKinley. The supreme purpose of the people in this momentous campaign should be to stamp with their final disapproval his attempt to grasp imperial power. A self-governing people can have no more imperative duty than to drive from public life a chief magistrate, who, whether in weakness or of wicked purpose, has used his temporary authority to subvert the character of their government and to destroy their national ideals.

"We, therefore, in the belief that it is essential at this crisis for the American people again to declare their faith in the universal application of the Declaration of Independence, and to reassert their will that their servants shall not have or exercise any powers whatever other than those conferred by the Constitution, earnestly make the following recommendations to our countrymen:

"1. That, without regard to their views on minor questions of domestic policy, they withhold their votes from Mr. McKinley in order to stamp with their disapproval what he has done.

"2. That they vote for those candidates for Congress, in their respective districts, who will oppose the policy of imperialism.

"3. While we welcome any other method of opposing the re-election of Mr. McKinley, we advise direct support of Mr. Bryan as the most effective means of crushing imperialism.

"We are convinced Mr. Bryan's sincerity and of his earnest purpose to secure to the Filipinos their independence. His position and the declarations contained in the platform of

his party on the vital issue of the campaign meet our unqualified approval.

"We recommend that the executive committees of the American Anti-Imperialist League and its allied leagues continue and extend their organizations, preserving the independence of the movement; and that they take the most active possible part in the pending political campaign.

"Until now the policy which has turned the Filipinos from warm friends to bitter enemies, which has slaughtered thousands of them and laid waste their country, has been the policy of the President. After the next election it becomes the policy of every man who votes to re-elect him, and who thus becomes with him responsible for every drop of blood thereafter shed.

"Resolved, That in declaring that the principles of the Declaration of Independence apply to all men, this congress means to include the negro race in America as well as the Filipinos. We deprecate all efforts, whether in the South or in the North, to deprive the negro of his rights as a citizen under the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States."

Cuba—The Mecca of the American Negro

WHEN American soldiers freed the Cubans they opened a pathway to liberty and happiness for the colored people of the United States.

The solution of the negro problem lies in the direction of a partial emigration of the colored population of America from the South to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. What with lynching in the South and oppression in the labor market of the North it seems that the colored man of North America has his choice between three things.

First—Gradual, but sure annihilation, as in the case of the North American Indian.

Second—Gradual amalgamation, which is physically impossible and undesirable from all points of view.

Third—Emigration.

The gradual emigration of the colored people from the South to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines—the two former islands more particularly—will furnish a sure solution of the many wrongs and persecutions to which the recently emancipated people have been subjected during the past thirty years.

There is before this people now "an open door," as a result of the Spanish-American war, which makes it possible for the colored people of the States to emigrate in large numbers to the islands under the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

I would not advise any person or persons to emigrate to either of the islands mentioned unless they possess the same hustling qualities which are found in the early colonists of North America.

The class of people who should come must possess the following qualifications: Nerve, manhood, determination, an independent spirit, \$300 or \$400 and a good team. They must burn the bridges behind them and come here to stay, to make a home for themselves and their posterity.

The men who will come here or go to either of the other islands to sit on the seashore and sigh for the old plantation had better remain where they are. There are millions of fertile acres in Cuba only waiting the brawn, sinew, intelligence and enterprise of the colored people of the States to turn this island, now uncultivated and poverty-stricken by reason of the late war, into a field of plenty.

Lands can be either leased or bought at reasonable prices and on reasonable terms. They are supplied with an abundance of water, and will produce almost any vegetable grown in the States. In addition to these, sugar cane, tobacco, coffee, cocoa and sweet potatoes are grown in great abundance in Cuba. Corn and cotton are also produced here. Oranges, bananas, grapes, mangoes, limes, lemons, figs and many other fruits are abundant. A thrifty and energetic farmer who gets a fair start in Cuba can treble his money in one year.

It must be remembered that I am speaking only of such persons of the race as may desire to try a home in the islands above referred to as a solution of the wrongs now inflicted upon our race.

There can easily be spared from the South 3,000,000 colored people, 2,000,000 of whom should emigrate to Cuba and the remainder be divided between the other two islands, or, if desirable, Cuba has room for them all.

This would cause such a reduction of colored labor in the South as to create a demand for the retention of the remainder of that race in the States, and it would forever set at rest the bugbear of negro domination as feared by the Southern whites.